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war time.) If she violated one of these regulations the expedition would be fruitless. Persons who had been made angry by not being given a sufficient share of fish sometimes caused the fishing to be fruitless by casting an evil spell on the net. To relieve the net of such a curse, it was necessary to cover it with ashes and briars (4).

Langsdorff (18, p. 137) describes fish as being *tapu* when breadfruit was ripening.

> Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young breadfruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connection of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

In the language of the Marquesas many fruits—notably kinds of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—have the same names as different kinds of fish. This *tapu* on fishing during the maturing season of breadfruit was, therefore, doubtless based on conceptions arising out of a belief in magical correspondence and balance of life on the land and in the sea.

According to Melville (23, p. 233), fishing was always done at full moon, but the natives at Atu Ona consider it as the least favorable time. Melville says:

> Four times during my stay in the valley the young men assembled near the full of the moon, and went together on these excursions. As they were generally absent about forty-eight hours, I was led to believe that they went out towards the open sea, some distance from the bay.

Fishing Festivals

Garcia (14, pp. 70-73) describes festivals that followed the fishing, saying that the *ko'ikaika* was one that occurred frequently and not at stated times. At a feast following a fishing expedition, Garcia witnessed a gathering of seven or eight hundred people decorated in all their finery, presided over by the chief. There was music of drums and chanting; *ka'ioi*, oiled and stained yellow, were dancing and playing the clown. After this celebration on the dance area the fish were distributed on the seashore. Concerning the rites connected with this *ko'ina*, I have no information. It it probable that in some of these feasts religious rites must have had a prominent place including the offering of first fruits for the purpose of removing the *tapu* on the sea, and chanting with the object of increasing

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226 •796 the abundance of the fish. The people are described by Garcia as going to the shore after the fête on the feast place. In other words, it is evident that the purpose of the rite on the feast place was to raise the *tapu* on the fish—after the rite was completed the fish could be distributed. The order in which Garcia describes events is this: first, the general *tapu* during the fishing, demanding silence and inactivity on the part of the whole tribe; secondly, the assembly, drumming, chanting, and dancing on the feast place; thirdly, the distribution of the fish on the seashore; and finally, all the different families taking home their share to be eaten at their houses.

A returning fishing party or expedition sometimes distributes its catch at the shore and at other times the distribution was more formally made at the chief's feast place. Mr. Linton was told that people at Pua Ma'u would come with gifts to the shore to meet the fishermen. This custom has been described to me also by natives at Atu Ona and at Taiohae. (See the Legend of Pepeiu.) On the other hand it is known that large catches were frequently distributed from the chief's feast place. It is probable that the manner of the distribution varied in different valleys, and it seems likely that in the same valley smaller fishing parties might barter their catch on the seashore, whereas the more important deep-sea fishing expeditions sent out by the chief, particularly that at the opening of the season when the *tapu* was removed, would carry their catch or the greater part of it to the *tohua*, where there would be a feast and distribution. Melville (23, p. 234) describes distribution of fish in Taipi-vai as follows:

> As soon as the approach of the party was announced, there was a general rush of the men towards the beach; some of them remaining, however, about the Ti, in order to get matters in readiness for the reception of the fish, which were brought to the Taboo groves in immense packages of leaves, each one of them being suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men.
>
> I was present at the Ti on one of these occasions, and the sight was most interesting. After all the packages had arrived, they were laid in a row under the verandah of the building, and opened. The fish were all quite small, generally about the size of a herring, and of every variety of color. About one-eighth of the whole being reserved for the use of the Ti itself, the remainder was divided into numerous small packages, which were immediately dispatched in every direction to the remotest part of the valley. Arrived at their destination, they were in turn portioned out, and equally distributed among the various houses of each particular district. The fish were under a strict Taboo, until the distribution was completed, which seemed to be effected in the most impartial manner. By the operation of this system every man, woman, and child in the vale, were at one and the same time partaking of this favorite article of food.

Fishing Paraphernalia and Methods

227 Before proceeding to describe in detail methods of fishing, it may be well to summarize briefly. Nets of all kinds were used—large ones handled

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527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.

[796]

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

> In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

527 728 > The wars with the Tai-piis are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized par-
526] ticularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

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were taken to the sacred place of the tribe,—were never eaten. Of the victims that were eaten, it appears that under some circumstances they were eaten only by chiefs, priests, and warriors, under other circumstances by the whole tribe. (See War.) Père Siméon is of the opinion that the natives of the Marquesas never ate human flesh as food but that the eating was always purely for revenge. He states that frequently it was parts of the head only that were consumed. According to him only one man is known to have eaten a fellow tribesman and this in revenge for cold-blooded murder. He points out the crews of whale-boats that have been lost for some time have starved to death without thinking of eating one of their company. The inhabitants of the valley of Atu Ona say that the Papua-ei tribe used to eat their fellow tribesmen, but this practice is recounted by natives of that valley today as a shameful thing, whereas the cannibalism that followed war is not associated with any sense of shame in the thoughts of most modern natives.

It seems probable that fellow tribesmen were sometimes eaten during great famines such as that which greatly reduced the population of Nuku Hiva between 1806 and 1812. (See 14, pp. 12-13.) It must be remembered that most of the early visitors such as Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and others who gave earliest reports of cannibalism in the Marquesas visited Nuku Hiva at a time immediately following this disastrous famine when any tendency in that direction would have been exaggerated and, furthermore, that their informants were sailors who undoubtedly liked to spin a good yarn. The eating of wives and children as described by Langsdorff and Krusenstern may, I feel sure, be labeled sailors' yarns. As there are only a few old men left who have eaten human flesh, the interest that a modern Marquesas islander puts into the description of the cannibalism of his ancestors may be laid not so much to feeling that there was great enjoyment of the food, but rather to a spirit of boasting before the horrified foreigner and to the survival of the sense of vengeance and triumph over a fallen foe that was one actuating motive in the eating of enemies.

The *ko'ina heana* consisted merely of a feast at the dance area, where human flesh, pig, and *popoi* were consumed. So far as I know there was no dancing nor singing. I have no definite information on this subject but it seems doubtful that women were ever allowed to be present at such feasts.

In the top of the largest platform at the main feast place in Atu Ona, there is a basin-like hole where the enemies who were to be eaten were cut up. Prisoners were left at the feast place for two days before being killed, in order to allow these who were to attend the *ko'ina* to get ready. It

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796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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inserted. The juices from the flesh that dripped down into the bowl were mixed with taro leaves and eaten. It is said that sometimes a piece of meat would be kept in the hole for several months. This seems impossible unless the flesh were dried, but I have never heard of the drying. One of the chief purposes of this peculiar utensil was to serve as a protection against theft: a man coming to steal the meat would lift up the cover, look in the bowl and find it empty. The *hue po'o* was sometimes carried hung from the neck. This method of carrying it was explained as being due to the necessity of keeping off the flies with both hands.

TATTOOING FESTIVALS

At Atu Ona when the tattooing of a boy was completed and he was healed, his father announced that he would give a *ko'ina tuhi tiki* on a certain day. The lad in whose honor the feast was given was called *opou*. On the given day all the people gathered at the feast place. The chants called *pu'e* and *nato* were chanted (See Sacred Chants), two large drums (*pahu anana*) and three small ones (*tutu*) accompanying them. At this feast, all of the *ka'ioi* (see Tattooing) who had been decorated gratis in the tattooing house of the boy (*opou*) for whom the fête was given also showed off their new designs.

Another informant, at Pua Ma'u said that three fêtes were given in honor of a boy after his tattooing had been completed: the first, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki;* the second, the *ko'ina pou fau* (*pou*, post; *fau, Hibiscus tiliaceus*); and the last, the *ko'ina toe haka*. Brief descriptions of the first and third of these are given below; but concerning the second nothing is known.

According to this Pua Ma'u informant, who had himself been a *ka'ioi* in the tattooing rites, the boy for whom the tattooing had been undertaken and for whom the feast was given never danced. At his first fête, the *ko'ina tuhi tiki,* the boy showed off his new tattooing by marching around the dance place accompanied by the *ka'ioi* who had been tattooed with him. He was anointed with coconut oil, saffron, and sweet-scented juices (*huhe*). This made his skin light yellow and brilliant, causing the designs to show to great advantage. The youth wore only a tortoise-shell headdress and a loin cloth. The type of chant called *putu* was intoned in honor of the youth who had been tattooed (see Chants), being accompanied by the hand-clapping of the *ka-ioi* standing on the dance area, while two men and two women danced. Neither the *ka'ioi* nor the youth for whom the feast was given danced. At this festival the chants called *uta* and *pu'e* were also sung. (See Chants.) In Pua Ma'u valley, I was told that the *ko'ina tuhi ti'i,* or *ko'ina pati'i* (*pati'i*, nick-

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304 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also
574 by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke*, *haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

● 796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'aiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a hiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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796 556 431

catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a*, *tau'a nui*, or sometimes *atua*, which means literally god. The *tau'a*, who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito*, or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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538 In the following studies of particular chants it will be seen that some were and some were not accompanied by dancing or pantomimic accompaniment. Early writers describe dancing and singing as sometimes alternating. (See 26, pp. 235-237.)

Only the most superficial account of the content of these chants can be given. Although they were studied with informants who gave all the assistance their limited knowledge made possible, it will require much time to make any approach to a clear translation. The text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u (Pl. II, *F*), who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* of Pua Ma'u. The old man was desirous that his granddaughter, who had learned to write at the Catholic mission school, should preserve his learning, which he, no doubt, knew would vanish with the rest of the customs and lore of his people. This woman and her husband, Peohai, who had also been taught by the old *tuhuna,* still know much of the meaning of the chants, but have also forgotten much. When anyone dies in the valley, Peohai still chants the funerary chants which were among those written in the book.

The Pua Ma'u story of the origin of the *pu'e* and *vavana* chants is as follows: Two fish, the *aku* and the *kokoama,* came up the stream that empties into Taha Uku bay and taught both chants to two ancient *tuhuna,* Manatu and Pupuke, who lived at Vevau. Thus it was that Manatu and Pupuke came to be the patrons of the *pu'e* and *vavana.* It seems that it was the *kokoama* that taught both chants—it is not clear what part the *aku* played. This story of the origin of the chants explains the practice of securing an *aku* and a *kokoama* before the *ko'ino vavana.* (See Creation Chants.) The fish were taken up to the chief's *tapu* bathing place in Pua Ma'u and there kept during the rite, being surrounded by a little picket fence. When the rite was finished the *aku* was eaten, while the *kokoama* was allowed to return to the sea, being left to make its own way back by way of the stream.

538 796 Great chanting festivals, at which the sacred chants described below, were intoned with accompanying rites, were celebrated for various purposes by family groups, or in the case of chief's families, by the tribe. The occasions for such festivals were a newly completed canoe or house, the completion of the instruction of a son or daughter in these chants, or the arrival of a first-born heir. Such festivals, the central feature of which was the chanting of the creation chants, *vavana* and *pu'e,* were known as *ko'ina vavana, ko'ina pu'e.* For the rite two special houses

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were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and others to be mentioned were *tapu*, restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna*, who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[19] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[19] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 164), London, 1813.

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Gracia,[11] one of the first Catholic missionaries, testifies to the impressiveness of the ancient choral chants in these words:

> The most dignified member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed, or which he composes at the moment; it often consists in only two or three words, repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or three vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert; but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a festival of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs, . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The chants referred to by both these writers were probably religious recitations of the same type as the *pu'e*.

RECREATIONAL CHANTS

RU'U

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Ru'u is the term applied in the northern islands of the Marquesas group to the kind of love song that is called *nani* in the southern islands. The *ru'u* (melodic figure 1) was heard on the island of Uahuka and was at first supposed to be Marquesan in origin as the nature of the melody and mode of singing are identical with that of the *nani* on Hivaoa. It was later discovered, however, that one of the singers who performed it, himself a native of Paumau, Hivaoa, had learned the song in the Tuamotu Islands and had taught it to the singers of Hane, Uahuka. About two and a half years after this, while being entertained by a group of Tuamotu singers in Tahiti, this *ru'u* was sung to a woman from Takaroa who instantly recognized the air. After a moment's thought she said it came from the island of Pukapuka. This was a most interesting remark in view of the fact that Pukapuka is one of several small atolls in the Tuamotus which lie nearest to the Marquesas, and that its dialect is known to differ from that of the western Tuamotus to such an extent as to make it difficult for a man from Rangiroa, for instance, to understand one from Pukapuka. Near Pukapuka, its people speaking the same dialect, is Napuka, which is known in Hivaoa as an island to which a number of refugees, defeated in war on Hivaoa, had been blown on rafts of bamboo. The whole group of facts concerning the song, therefore, furnish striking illustration of several points: connection between the northeastern Tuamotu

[11] Gracia, Mathias (Le P.), Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, pp. 64-65, Paris, 1843.